UHURU

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NON-VIOLENCE ADVOCATES SUPPORT ISRAELI AGGRESSION

BLACK AMERICANS AND ISRAEL

In the June 28th issue of the New York Times there appeared an advertisement which is a shock and an embarassment to all Black men concerned with liberating our minds. It is bad enough when the chief protagonists of non violence for the Black man shoul loudly and openly demand that weapons of violence be supplied to their friends. It is distressing and tragic when this demand is based on distortions, half-truths and prejudices which even intelligent whites have rejected. Starting with a rejection of these misconceptions, we go on to state a righteous position with regard to the Arab-Israeli conflict.

It is painful to hear intelligent Black men repeat the stereotypes which the Man has been feeding us all this while. '...Iraq, Syria and Egypt are dictatorial one-party states' while Israel boasts 'a high degree of political freedom'. Hogwash! Iraq, Syria and Egypt are downtrodden nations reeling under the impact of half a century of exploitation under the mandates of English and French imperialism. In the face of massive poverty, these countries stood up and threw of the economic and political yoke of the dying colonial powers. Rejecting the new form of domination represented by U.S. capital, they embarked on a program of socialist development. For this the West has not forgiven them, and because of this, their society is called 'undemocratic' and their rulers 'dictatorial'. This - has been swallowed wholesale by Messrs. A. Phillip Randolp and Company.

'Israel has made tremendous strides towards achieving an egalitarian social order'. Sure, and so has the U.S. They have Arab majors in Israel, just like they have Black mayors in the U.S. They probably even have some Arab members of the Knesset. Just like in U.S. Why doesn't Mr. Rustin tell the truth, that Palestinian Arabs (those who have been allowed to stay) are treated as second class citizens in the country of their birth, the country in which their forefathers lived for hundreds of years - treated as second class citizens by a white race of aliens who suddenly invaded their land - with the conivance of the British - a mere 25 years ago? Mr. Rustin is more Zionist than the Zionists. They at least admit the facts.

But let us get to the fundamental question. Do the signatories to the 'Appeal' really believe that the U.S. can contribute to peace in the Middle East by supplying jets to Israel? For the past three years, Isreali jets have been scouring the Arab world at will, hitting military targets, yes, but also terrorising and bombing hospitals, factories and settlements with utter contmept for human life. Israeli military policy seems based on the Hitlerite notion that war can be won by intimidation. Is it then a contribution to peace to augment the arsenal of these rampaging aerial terrorists? They already have freedom of the skies; what further security do fifty Phantoms offer?

There are further contradictions in the 'Appeal'. The sponsor of a counter-resolution points out that.

'It is hypocritical that the signers of the petition supporting Israel, advocates of non-violence for the Black people in America, have never called for the U.S. to support Black liberation movements... in their efforts to regain their land in Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, Zimbabwe, Namibia, Azaina...'

Why? Is there some significance to the fact that Jewish individuals and organisations in the U.S. which contribute heavily to the support of institutes such as A. Philiph Randolph are also the financial backbone of Israel?

There are a number of considerations in the Middle East which the pro-Zionist would have us forget. Arabs have been the sole occupants of Palestine for close to a thousand years. With the connivance of the British, fanatical Zinists poured into Palestine, appropriated this land and proclaimed themselves an independent state. It is this crime a ainst decency and humanity which is at the root of the Palestinian problems. There can be no settlement which fails to tackle this problem. The Palestinians don't merely want to be fed and housed. They wish to have their homeland returned to them. They are not insisting that Jews be made to leave, but they argue reasonably, that if the Jews are to stay the present Zionist regime must be dismantled and in its place a new Palestine erected in which 2 million Arabs and 1½ million Jews will have equal access to power.

One implication of this, is that the international Zionist movement must be defeated. People who talk about 'poor, defenceless Israel' are blinding themselves to the facts. The state of Israel represents only the visible tip of the Zionist iceberg whose real power and money is centred in New York, Paris, London and Johanesburg. The Israelis are in effect acting as cannon fodder for the fat Jewish financial moguls, like their counterparts everywhere; supply the money and the guns and let the hapless kibbutzim do the dirty work. With the backing of the international Jewry, Israel is neither poor nor small nor weak.

Our solidarity with the Palestinian people is not 'inherent'. It is based on our perception that the Palestinians are the victims of the same capitalist menace which oppresses Black people. The profits of Black South Africans labour contribute as much as 20% of the total Isreali budget; the massive fundraising drives in New York and London in 1967 were only the most publicised of the constant contributions without which the state of Israel could not exist. For our part, we are involved in the attempt to dismantle the capitalist structure which supplies these funds.

We are convinced that this form of economic organization has nothing to offer Blacks but the exploitation of their labour, pilferage of Africa's natural resources and control of the finances of third world countries. We have no quarrel with the peoples of Jewish origin the world over. But we are adamantly opposed to the Jewish capitalists who have allied with the Western European, American and South African interests, who continue to oppress Black people and filter profits into a Zionist regime which oppresses Arab peoples and denies them the right to liberty and self-determination in the land of their birth. And we condemn Black men who can be so misled as to ignore their real interests, to accept blindly the received dogma of white propagandists, to ignore the plight of deprived Palestinians and to advance spurious arguments in support of Israel's blitzkrieg.

An Appeal by

BLACK AMERICANS

For United States

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Pictures of people who signed the statement appealing to Black people to support Israël.

UNITED NATIONS REPORT

By Winston Berry

United Nations (AWA) - United States Ambassador William B. Buffum turned in an expected pro-White performance in the United Nations Security Council's discussion of a resolution to ban arms to Hitlerite South Africa. Mr. Buffum told the Council the United States was equally opposed to racial discrimination and oppression at home and abroad, has a deep conviction that "all men are created equal" and was determined "to eliminate racial discrimination within our borders." Then he announced that the United States would join Britain and France in abstaining from the vote on the draft resolution that placed a total ban on arms to South Africa.

The statement left Africans with the impression that there exists an invidious American consistency on both aspects of the racial crisis. To them it revealed an inner truth with regard to the U.S. policy of condemning racial discrimination in principle while condoning it by thwarting action against it.

Mr. Buffum's contrived explanation was not new. For 23 years now a parade of U.S. representatives have made variations of it while the South African system of Apartheid was up for discussion. Indeed, UN History has forced most Africans to conclude that the American pace of enforcement in southern Africa matched the gradualism employed in implementing anti-discrimination measures in the United States.

Ambassador Richard M. Akwei of Ghana, who cannot be accused of being anti-American, anticipated the American statement when he told the Council: "It's (the United States) attitude towards the apartheid problem cannot be dissociated from its attitude to its own black American problem. Indeed, in the view of educated Africans the African problem is only the black American problem writ large on an international canvas. The two problems are indissolubly linked in the minds of educated Africans. In the same way that there is no rational explanation for the continued discrimination and poverty of black Americans in the United States, there is no rational explanation for the present involvement of the United States in South Africa". Mr Akwei wanted to know why the U.S. with a gross national product of $850 billion annually needed the $3 million arms trade with South Africa, adding:

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EDITORIAL

The relationship between the greater part of the world's population and a European white minority might have changed form, but essentially remains one of subjection, oppression, and exploitation of the majority towards the benefit of the Western Society. In other words, for the colonized peoples of the world, there is no such thing as "Independence". In the case of the African countries and the Caribbean islands, Britain, by some invisible divine law, maintained that she had control over these "colonies" and proceeded to govern and control the peoples of these areas in a manner which allowed her to rape and exploit the natural and human resources of those countries for her own benefit. For example, for every piano keyboard that exists, the toll can be counted in terms of the loss of one elephant, six human lives and sometimes the destruction of a village. For every popular movement which was started to demand independence - a birthright - some lives have been lost and citizens jailed in their own countries. INDEPENDENCE is the right of every people. One is either free or one is born a slave. What then is an independence celebration? Is it a celebration thanking the masters for the favour bestowed on a people? Is it a celebration of a long awaited freedom? It is impossible to understand because to all intents and purposes the master-slave relationship has not changed. How can we say that we are truly independent when policy is decided in Britain, when the economic relationship is still one that enriches the coffers of the colonizers, when militarily we are at the mercy of the masters, when the colonial institutions remain, when even though the government is now made up of Nationals, the situation is still the same as if our colonial masters still had direct control. (and they do.)

In effect, all that independence means, if it is granted by a power that has nothing to do with an indigenous people, is the attainment of a flag, national cost of arms, and an anthem.

Unless we win independence by breaking the yoke imposed on us by the colonizers, then we remain slaves and independence celebrations only become a mockery of ourselves, a sign of our smugness and ignorance and an insult to the integrity of our people.

Just as the army is the aggressive national force, to enforce policy abroad, so is the police force the aggressive force to enforce government policy at home. Governor Rockefeller's main proposal after visiting Haiti and Latin America, was that the police force should be increased, the army phased out, and more equipment and money given to the police. In other words, the suggestion was that although the army could be dangerously divided with split loyalties, the police would be faithful enforcers of the law. However, the situation today is that the police force has become a powerful entity in itself. Proof of this can be seen in Brazil, Trinidad, Haiti, and the United States. In America they can, and do kill with no fear of punishment. They can now (in Washington) enter without knocking and without warrant; they can now arrest suspects only on suspicion, in the name of "preventative" detention. In Canada, they have decided to ask for public support, in the absence of which they have threatened to meet out 'justice on the street'. If the police force expects not to be questioned by the people even when the law protects them, if they expect to continue in the fashion of the wildwest shootings at will, with no fear of reaction from the people, if they lose right of the fact that guns are not only made for policemen, if they do not intend to let up, especially on Black people, then not only will they not have the support of the people, but they will be viewed as Chicago and Trinidad are proving, as public enemies and dealt with accordingly, with all the force of a people's wrath. It's about time the power of the police department was questioned by us as a people and we prepare to deal with those power drunk policemen who, as individuals, feel that the uniform means immediate dictatorial power.

United Nations (AWA) --- President Joseph D. Mobutu of the Congo (Kinshasa) is now on a state visit to the United States. He has come a long way with important assistance from American official sources, from his sergeant's rank in the Guard Mobile of the Belgian colonial administration, to instant general, with a short wait in the wings before proclaiming himself President of the Republic.

The former sergeant is now being hailed by Secretary of State William P. Rogers as a soldier - statesman in the mold of George Washington and Dwight D. Eisenhower, according to the public prints. In greeting Mobutu at the White House on August 4, President Nixon said the U.S. had made a "good investment" in the Congo because it has become a "strong, vigorous and stable country.". The word "stable was used here to mean that "law and order" has at last prevailed in the Congo.

Mobutu's first step towards the "law and order" Nixon loves so well was to hand the late Congolese Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba over to Moise Tshombe, in the rebellion against the Congolese Government, for execution. He next brought Tshombe, a proven traitor to his country, to the capital as Prime Minister, while he (Mobutu), the head of the army, cooperated with white mercenaries from South Africa, Belgium and Rhodesia against his countrymen who still pursued the ideals of Lumumba. This campaign against the "rebels" led to the bloodbath of November, 1964, in Stanleyville, in which reportedly more than 10,000 Congolese were slaughtened by Belgian paratroops, ferried in American planes from the British-administered island of Assension, off the West Coast of Africa.

According to public records, the United States Government and private investors have injected 800 million into the economy of the Congo since it became independent in 1960 under the leadership of Patrice Lumumba. But it appears that most of this "investment" has been in the form of military hardware, military training and police training. Private investments, of course, have gone into companies engaged in exploiting the mineral riches of the country - copper, tin, industrial diamonds, gold, cobalt, zinc, and uranium.

Americans of the Central Intelligence Agency organized the Congolese Air Force in the early 1960's and recruited pilots for it from among Cuban refugees. This was to enable Mobutu's army to fight the pro-Lumumba revolutionaries. At about the same time the United States Aid for International Development (AID) programme built a police Academy and recruited former New York State Policeman, John F. Manopoli to head a police-training program in Leopoldville.

It was not long after that -- in 1966 -- that four members of the political opposition were arrested and subsequently hanged in public by the Mobutu Government. In 1969, the Congolese students got restless as a result of deteriorating social and economic conditions. Mobutu's reply to their demands for more freedom and more food was an attack in which more than 60 students were mowed down by army and police gunfire. This "no nonsense" way of dealing with student unrest acted out what Vice President Spiro Agnew is able to express only in words. But is was one of the ways in which President Mobutu has brought law and order to his country.

While all of this strenuous attention was being paid to law and order, the roads were left in decay, bridges went unrepaired, it was impossible in 1968 for produce from the countryside to be brought to the capital.

Moreover, the Belgian plantation owners, who had fled during the turmoil that followed the coming of independence, were invited back. Their terms were that they would have a hand in provincial and national government. Now, in the words of a popular news magazine, "the white man is back" in the Congo and doing business at the same old stand. Luxury foods are being ordered from South Africa along with certain industrial equipment, despite the request by the UN that such trade be eliminated.

Prices have risen more than 200 per cent, but even salaries in the cities have only been raised only 25 per cent.

According to United Nations economic reports the per capita national product of the Congo amounts to less than ten dollars annually. But copper production is maintained and the expensive living of the Belgian businessmen is uninterrupted.

President Mobutu is said to be looking for more American investments and more American aid for the Congo. But so far the aid has affected only the betterment of the foreign-owned sector of the economy. And the Congolese ministers are functioning just as the late Frantz Fanon, the author of "The Wretched of the Earth", said they would: as artificial capitalists functioning as middlemen between the natural wealth of their country and the money available in Western capitals.

"If it (the United States) needs neither South African money nor South African military alliance, we are entitled to ask: is the present United States policy on apartheid only an extension of the long and sinister arm of the southern strategy to our oppressed continent?"

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THE TRAGEDY OF DA COSTA HALL

The justification for writing the history of the people's summer program for black students comes from the fact that the program has turned out to be vastly different from what it was first conceived to be. The implications of the failure, then, of the new Da Costa Hall summer project to meet the standards of a truly black oriented program must be examined in all of its details with a view towards forestalling similar mistakes in the future.

It should be stated quite clearly that this program, contrary to what is now being voiced, was not in any way conceived or initiated by the "Board of Black Educators", for no such organization existed when the idea was put forward to McGill University. Rather, motivated by the ideological direction given by the black community newspaper (Uhuru) and by the marked absence of black Canadian students at the University, black students at McGill first put forward this proposal, along with another for Black Studies, to the Administration. This was in November 1969.

At this time it was pointed out by Norman Cook to Dr. Oliver, Vice-Principal, that there were only about sixteen black Canadian students at McGill. When we examined the reason for this, we concluded that the blame lay in the racist system and its treatment of blacks. It was all too obvious that black students, because of the oppressive and racist nature of the school system, were almost destined never to reach the university level. We realized then that our attention had to turn towards the high schools if, in fact, we were to recruit students for the university.

It was at this point that we started talking to black students from the high schools and from them we got an idea of the seriousness of the problem. Most of them had actually given up all hope of ever going to university. The feeling was one of total despair. Quite a lot of them sought to escape this by hanging areung the McGill Student Centre just playing the juke box and going absolutely nothing.

At a subsequent meeting of the Subcommittee on Black Studies, we raised the question of the summer school again. At this point most members seemed to be in agreement with the whole idea after we had made a strong case for it. We discussed recruiting techniques and the various categories of students we hoped to cater for. We listed three categories: 1) dropouts 2) students who qualified for university but could not attend due to financial difficulties 3) students who under the system did not have the "normal qualifications". It was suggested at the meeting that to cater for the number of students we had thought about at the time, a sum of $5,000 would be adequate.

It is very important to point out that we saw this money as being used purely for supplies and other materials for the school and not for payment to teachers. We were convinced at that point that members of the community were ready to lend their services to a program which, in fact, belonged to them. The present situation either proves that we were mistaken or that the people who are now receiving fantastic salaries are not members of the black community.

At another meeting on April 14 we further discussed the nature of the school. By that time, we had already received a number of names for the program and so we informed McGill that the original number of students would have to be increased. They accepted our proposal and along with the report on Black Studies agreed to put it on the agenda of the Academic Policy Committee (of the McGill Senate) for Thursday April 23. The strong case put forward by the black students at that meeting forced the Academic Policy Committee to accept the remedial program in the name of the Senate of McGill. A maximum number of twenty black students was guaranteed us, along with financial assistance.

From this point onward it was merely a question of collecting names of prospective students. During this time, the Board of Black Educators was meeting. As black people interested in the education of blacks we attended these meetings and became a part of the Board. This has to be stressed, as on more than one occasion Mr. Bertley has been heard to say that we, the black students at McGill asked the Board for permission to represent it at McGill University. This, in spite of the fact that the Board stated quite clearly that every member of the black community was automatically a member of the organization.

It was at these meetings of the Board that we informed people as to what was happening at McGill. It was our intention to have the entire black community involved in this concrete program, especially black teachers in Montreal. With this in mind, we put forward a request for help from the Board. The response was favorable. Some teachers said they were willing to volunteer their services. But then, there was no mention of $15,000 for the program. This was to come later.

Some time afterwards McGill called for a statement of salary proposals. Since we were not familiar with what this might be, we asked Leo Bertley to draw it up to be presented the following day. This was done together with a rather lengthy description of other aspects of the school. It was rather unfortunate that this had to be presented to McGill before it could have been discussed. Special attention should be paid to the appendix printed below containing salary proposals for the staff:

APPENDIX

SALARY PROPOSALS FOR STAFF (PRINCIPAL EXCLUDED)

Full Time Teachers $1,200 x 6	$7,200
2 hrs./day/teacher600Part Time Teache	
Part Time Teachers	$2,160
$12 hr./2hr. day Teacher	
Secretary (Full Time)	
$100.00/week	600
Total	$9,960*

* This figure does not include Principal's emoluments. It does not include any other expenses such as office needs, etc., since it is assumed that McGill will look after such requirements.

Subsequent negotiations with McGill brought the final budget (which so far we have not seen) to $15,000. Out of this the principal receives a salary of $400. and more per week with the other teachers receiving the sum stated above. The reason for dwelling on the question of the money will become very obvious when one is made aware of all the implications behind it. At the time that the budget was prepared, it was generally felt that if McGill was willing to give $15,000 then the black community had a right to it. The fact that McGill wanted a budget should create no problem since one could claim the amount above for teachers but did not have to abide by that. In fact, it was agreed upon by members of the Board that a significant amount of this money would be kicked back into the organization. But all of this was before the money was a definite thing.

What has happened since then, however, is a blatant betrayal of the true interests of the black community. The black "volunteers" have defended their right to their $200 a week job by pointing out how much money they spent in gas before the programs started. In fact, this was the position taken by Mr. O. Downes, in particular, before the black community. In general, these "interested" black teachers arrogantly justified their claim to the money by assuming that their private interests were being threatened.

They further sought to strengthen their position by carefully excluding from interviews teachers and students or anyone who might have differed from them. In fact, the black students who actually initiated the program were not even consulted at this point. These volunteers of the Da-Costa Hall program went ahead and accepted positions from Sir George Williams University, thereby jeopardising the position of those black students still to be tried. Contrary to what Oswald Downes said, it is ridiculous to expect that any jury of white racists is going to see Sir George's offer as one of reparation. It is more likely that the jurors would think that Sir George could not itself be racist because of what they have now done for black students. And so, those who will in September be standing and, in fact, saying to Sir George that they (Sir George) are the ones who should be on trial for racism will be caught in a tremendous contradiction.

What was the Program Like?

For a program which was designed to raise the level of consciousness, there is no doubt that it was a total failure. To expect those who were in charge to have exhibited any reasonable level of black consciousness is as ridiculous as expecting oranges to grow on grapefruit trees. Consequently, many students saw the program as no more than an imitation of the white 'thing' by a few negroes.

To say the least, the attitudes of some of the teachers left a lot to be desired. One teacher was heard to say that he preferred to teach "brilliant white kids" rather than "dumb black kids". In addition to this, comments on the principal's arrogant behaviour ranged from those of his being too emotional to those of bullying and terrorizing some of the black students. He is said to have actually brought tears to the eyes of some students.

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DIG IT!

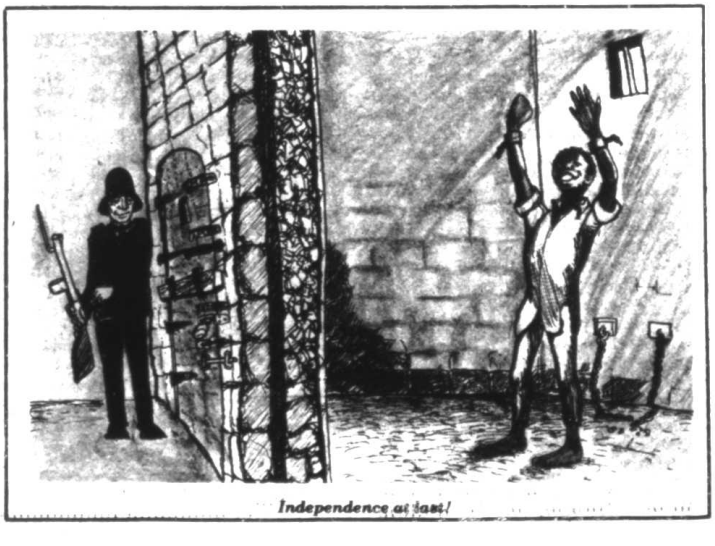
What happened between LA PETITE MUSICALE and the RUSSIANS at the ETHNIC Pavillion at Man and His World last week? It seems that the Russians Came and attempted to seize the microphone from the Carribbean cultural group - WOW! What do you call that a Cultural CLASH or ETHNIC ECCENTRICITY? --- Hey SISTERS have you checked the BROTHER ALOUETTES for this year? Pictures with cap. "Dig it" By the way the MONTREAL POLICE have been trying to make contacts with the BLACK COMMUNITY --- to establish BETTER RELATIONS... Did their liason man call YOU? --- SCHOOL, SCHOOL! SCHOOL! Now that the Da Costa-Hall Summer Project has ended, some of the students will be going to New College Orientation Classes sponsored by the Black Cultural Club of Dawson College. Sister Dietra Thomas the first sister in Montreal to wear a NATURAL is back in town. Dietra, the actress, the Sister in the STRUGGLE and MOTHER is visiting from New York where she is very much involved in the fight for better housing for Blacks. Speaking of women in the STRUGGLE did you know that the women's branch of the ELKS recently started an unwed mothers fund --- One sister commented, "We want to do our little bit you know!"

OHHHHHH GUESS WHO'S GETTING MARRIED??? LUANGA BASHERI!!

WHERE THERE'S A BUCK TO BE MADE...

When Britain's new Conservative government recently announced its decision to sell arms to South Africa, Prime Minister Trudeau was one of the first to voice protest. The protest, as usual, consisted of no more than a diplomatic note to Whitehall, the kind that gets quietly filed away in file thirteen. Protest made, Trudeau sat back, confident that Canada's 'liberal' image had been reinforced.

But not everyone was fooled. At the same time as Ottawa was shedding crocodile tears, an Ontario trade mission was beginning a visit to South Africa to bolster trade, and to examine the prospects of establishing Canadian business in South Africa to exploit the cheap black labour force which apartheid provides. Resolutions and diplomatic notes are nice window-dressing, but when there's a buck to be made morals go out the window. Apartheid is be immoral, yes, but it makes big profits.



Independence at last!

LUMUMBA'S DEATH: COULD

The observers who met in different African capitals during the month of June 1960, could see various unusual things. Indeed, an increasing number of strange people arrived from the Congo - which had just stepped into the international arena. What did these Congolese say? This was not at all important. They said that Lumumba had been bribed by the Ghanians. That Gizenga had been bribed by the Guineans and Kashamura by the Yugoslavs. That the Belgian civilizers had left too soon, etc. But if an attempt were made to corner one of these Congolese and to question him, then we realized that something very serious was being plotted against the independence of the Congo and against Africa. Congolese Senators and Deputies left the Congo and went to the United States shortly after the independence festivities. Others lived for several weeks in Brazzaville. The trade union leaders were invited to New York. In Africa should one of these Deputies or Senators be cornered, his questioner would discover a very complicated process was being initiated. Before July1, 1960, the Katanga operation was begun. This was, of course, aimed at the safeguarding of Union Miniere de Belgique, but the real basis for this operation was a Belgian scheme.

A unified Congo with a central government was being built up to serve Belgian interests. Support of the decentralizing demands of the various provinces, to stir up these demands, to keep tham alive, that was the Belgian policy before independence.

In this task the Belgians were assisted by the authorities of the Rhodesia-Nyasaland Federation. Today it is well known - and Mr. Hammarskjold knew it better than anyone - that before June 30, 1960, an aerial bridge between Salisbury and Elizabethville made it possible to bring arms to Katanga. Lumumba had proclaimed, on a certain occasion, that the liberation of the Congo would be the first phase of the complete independence of Central and Southern Africa, and had clearly outlined his next objectives: the support of the nationalist movements in Rhodesia, Angola and South Africa.

A unified Congo headed by an anti-colonialist constituted a real danger to this Southern Africa, very properly Southern Africa, before which the rest of the world closes its eyes. That is: before the anti-colonialist celebrations.

Lumumba, since he was the head of the first country of this region to have obtained independence, since he knew what colonialism was, had taken upon himself, in the name of his people, to contribute physically to the disappearance of this Africa. That the authorities of Katanga and Portugal have used all the means at their disposal to sabotage the independence of the Congo, does not surprise us in the slightest. That they have reinforced the actions of the Belgians and the push of the centrifugal forces in the Congo is a fact. But this fact does not imply the progressive deterioration that has installed in the Congo. This fact does not explain the cold blooded, coldly executed murder of Lumumba. This colonialist collaboration in the Congo is not enough to explain why in February, 1961, Africa will know of its first big crisis related with the Congo. Its first big crisis because it will be necessary for them to say if they advance or go backwards. It must be necessary that they understand that it will no longer be possible to advance by regions: that like a great body that permits no mutilation, it will be necessary to advance in all the fronts; that there will not be an Africa that fights colonialism and another that will try to arrange things with colonialism. It must be necessary that Africa, that is the African people, understand that there will never be greatness in postponement and that there will never be dishoner in stating what you are and what you want, and that the skill of the colonized can not be in the last term other than its courage, the clear conception of its objectives and its alliances, the tenacity with which it fights for its liberation.

Lumumba believed in his mission. He had an exaggerated confidence in the people. The people, for him, should not have deceived themselves, in addition should not have been deceived. And the facts seemed to bear him out. Every time, for instance, that the enemies of the Congo opposed his opinion in any region, it was enough for him to appear, explain, denounce, for the situation to return to normal. He forgot that he could not be in all parts at the same time, and that the miracle of the explanation was less truth expounded by him than the power of his personal presence.

Lumumba had lost the battle for the presidency of the Republic. But, because he was the incarnation, from the very beginning, of the confidence that the Congolese people had placed in him and because the African peoples understood, confusedly, that he was the only person who cared for the dignity of his country, Lumumba continued expressing Congolese patriotism and African nationalism in its most rigorous and noblest expression.

Then, other more important countries than Belgium or Portugal decided to take a direct interest in the matter. They contacted Lumumba and they talked with him. After his trip to the U.S. the decision was taken: Lumumba must disappear.

Why? Because the enemies of Africa ;did not fool themselves. They had realized perfectly that Lumumba was sold, sold on Africa - of course. In other words, he could not be bought by them. The enemies of Africa realized with horror that if Lumumba succeeded in the heart of the colonial system with a French Africa turning into a new type community, a Portuguese "province" in Angola, then East Africa was finished, "their" Africa, for whom they had such exact plans.

The great success of the enemies of Africa is to have compromised the Africans themselves. It is true that the Africans were directly interested in the death of Lumumba. Heads of puppet governments, in the midst of a puppet independency, confronted day by day with a mass opposition of their peoples, did not take long to convince themselves that the real independence of the Congo will put them in personal danger.

There were other Africans, puppets to a lesser degree, who were frightened by the idea of the separation of Africa from the West. We must say that these African chiefs of State have always been afraid of being confronted by Africa. They also, though less actively, but consciously, have contributed to the disintegration of the situation in the Congo.

Little by little the West reached the agreement that it was necessary to intervene in the Congo, that things could not be left to develop at this rate. Little by little the idea of a U.N. intervention took shape. It can be stated today that two mistakes were commited simultaneously by the Africans. The first by Lumumba when he asked for the intervention by the U.N. It was not necessary to appeal to the U.N. The U.N. has never been capable of solving any of the problems presented to man's conscience by colonialism; each time it has intervened it has been to come to the aid of the colonialist power of the oppressor country . . .

It is not fair to say that the U.N. has failed because the causes are difficult. The U.N. is the juridical card that the imperialist interests use when brute force has failed.

The distributions, the controlled, mixed commissions, the tutelage are international legal means of torturing, of breaking the will for independence of the peoples, of developing anarchy, banditry and poverty because before the arrival of the U.N. there were no mass killings in the Congo. After the rumors spread on the departure of the Belgians, only a dozen or so deaths were recorded. But after the arrival of the U.N., it is usual to find every morning that the Congolese are murdering each other by the hundreds.

Today they tell us that repeated provocations are carried out by the Belgians acting as soldiers of the U.N. Today it is revealed to us that civilian functionaries of the U.N. created a new government three days after Lumumba's investiture. So it is better understood that which has been called the violence, the rigidity, the susceptibility of Lumumba.

In fact, everything indicates that Lumumba was abnormally calm. The chiefs of the U.N. missions made contacts with Lumumba's enemies and took the decision with them that started the Congo State. How should a chief of government react in that case? The purpose that they were looking for and expected was the following: to show the lack of authority and prove the non-existence of the state and to justify the so-called "non-functioning" of the Congolese State.

Lumumba's mistake was then, from the first to believe in the friendly impartiality of the U.N. He forgot that the U.N. in its present form, is nothing more than a reserve assembly organized by the Big Powers in order to continue "the pacific struggle", between two armed conflicts, for the division of the world. If in August, 1960, Ileo stated, to anyone willing to listen, that it was necessary to hang Lumumba, if the members of Lumumba's cabinet did not know what to do with the dollars that flooded Leopoldville since 1960, if Mobutu went to Brazzaville every afternoon to do and listen to what is much better guessed at today, why then did Lumumba turn with such sincerity, with such lack of reserve to the U.N.?

The Africans must remember this lesson. If outside aid is needed, let us appeal to our friends. Only they can really help us to achieve our objectives, because, obviously, the friendship that links us to them is the friendship born of combat.

But the African peoples have committed a mistake when they agreed to place their troops under the control of the U.N. The African countries allowed themselves to be neutralized and

without realizing it allowed others to work for their own ends.

It was clear that it was necessary to send troops to aid Lumumba, but not under the control of the U.N., but directly, from one friendly country to another. The African troops in the Congo have suffered a historic, moral defeat. With their arms folded, without taking any action (because they were troops of the U.N.) they witnessed the disintegration of a State and nation that all Africa had acclaimed and praised, Shameful!

The damage that we have caused ourselves, we Africans, comes from forgetting that the enemy never retreats with sincerity. He never understands. He capitulates but he never changes. Our mistake was to believe that our enemy had lost his fighting spirit and was harmless. If Lumumba was in the way he must be swept aside. Imperialism has never hesitated to commit a murder. Take the case of Ben M'Hidi, Moumie, Lumumba.

Our mistake was to be somewhat confused in our action. Evidently there are still traitors in Africa. It is necessary to denounce and attack them. This is hard to believe after having such a marvelous dream of a united Africa, with the same hopes for a real independence, but it does not alter the facts.

The Africans are the ones who have endorsed imperialist policies in the

WE HAVE ACTED DIFFERENTLY?

Frantz Fanon

Congo., they who have served as intermediaries, they who have endorsed the activities and the remarkable silence of the U.N. in the Congo.

Today they are afraid. Hypocritically they compete on the ashes of Lumumba. Let us not fool ourselves any longer. They express the fear of their constituents. The imperialists themselves and afraid. And well they may be, because many Africans, many Afro-Asians are beginning to understand, Imperialists want to call a temporary halt. They want to wait until the indignation has died down. We must make use of this short interlude to abandon our cowardly actions and make up our minds to save the Congo and Afraica.

The imperialists decided to eliminate Lumumba. And they did.

They decided to create voluntary legions. They are already in place. The Air Force of Katanga, under the orders of South-African and Belgian pilots started straffing a few days ago. Foreign planes, filled with volunteers and paratroopers, leave Brazzaville to aid a certain Congo. If we decide to support Gizenga, we must do it resolutely. Because no one knows the name of the next Lumumba. In Africa there is a certain tendency represented by certain men. This tendency, dangerous to imperialism, is the one being disputed. Let us never forget it. It is our fate, the fate of all of us, that is at stake in the Congo.

CANADIAN UNIVERSITY SERVICE OVERSEAS

The Canadian University Service Overseas has become a showpiece of Canadian aid to Third World countries. Senator John B. Aird, Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, had this to say --

"... if most Canadians were asked to name one agency... engaged in assisting developing countries, I am sure that a solid majority would give the name of CUSO (Canadian University Service Overseas). The organisation, despite its small scale and relatively recent origins, has established an outstanding reputation for effectiveness and enthusiasm."

Does the organisation deserve the accolades which are heaped upon it? Are we to go along with the image of selfless Canadians sacrificing position and pay to the service of poor underprivileged nations?

In fact, CUSO has created so much conflict and failed so conspicuously to achieve its objectives, that even its executive workers have been having doubts about its role.

The basic objective of CUSO is to provide aid in the form of trained personnel in response to requests from governments of the Third World. The question of aid immediately creates problems. Can the value of aid being dispensed by CUSO, the Canadian International Development Agency and all other government institutions be compared with the annual take of Canadian aluminium companies, insurance companies, banks, manufactures and hotels in the Third World? The simple question is this: is CUSO part of the window dressing which covers up the exploitation of Third World resources by metropolitan interests?

A second basic problem results from the fact that Canada is sending white volunteers into a Black world. In spite of elaborate orientation programmes, these typical white middle class college graduates are totally ignorant of the race problem. Victims of a racist education, they don't even realise that their conception of Blacks as helpless ignorant children, is in fact evidence of racism. They are thus unprepared to face race conflicts in the Third World. Worse, they perpetuate racial stereotypes by identifying with white elites in the societies to which they are sent, by their (unconscious) attitude of missionary zeal, by their assumption that the rest of the world wants merely to emulate Canadian society. Some volunteers do avoid this trap and learn from their experience, but these are few and far between.

What does the Third World really need most of all? Technology. But where do the majority of CUSO volunteers go? Into teaching in high schools. The fact is that highly skilled technical personnel cannot be induced away from the comforts and security of Canadian society. The persons most urgently needed are not available simply because they are not prepared to make the sacrifices which are supposed to be the evidence of Canadian selflessness.

CUSO operates on the principle that it is only filling gaps until Third World countries can find their own personnel to fill these slots. In fact, by their own admission, this does not happen. Instead of phasing themselves out of business, CUSO finds that there is a continuous need for its services. Where are the locals who were being trained in the meanwhile? They have all emigrated to Canada and the U.S. This emigration is to my mind a symptom of the failure of the program of development via foreign aid.

Programs devised, directed and serviced by the Third World countries themselves are the only answer to the development problem. Aid, whether dispensed by CUSO, CIDA or Alcan, is becoming increasingly irrelevant.

To its credit, CUSO is aware of the danger of Canadians dictating to Third World peoples what political direction they should take. This awareness has not altered the fact that CUSO is an arm of Canadian foreign policy which does impose subterfuge political pressures on Third World countries. Officially, CUSO is an independent private organisation; in fact CUSO receives 90% of its funding from the Canadian government and cannot therefore be independent. Requests from Cuba are quietly filed on the side while volunteers are directed to Nigeria. That is the Canadian way.

CUSO makes much of the fact that volunteers are specifically required not to interfere in the internal politics of the host country. In theory, therefore, CUSO is non-political. In fact, in negotiating with reactionary governments in the Third World, CUSO is giving aid and comfort to the Status quo. CUSO volunteers often work in exclusive private schools, accept wage-levels which locals are trying to raise and in general do nothing to replace the philosophy of mendicancy with a policy of local initiative and self-assertion.

What does CUSO accomplish positively? A few volunteers after being exposed first-hand to the exploitation of the Third World return with the determination to assist the forces of social change. These are very few, a tiny minority. As against this tiny benefit we have an organisation which is part of the whitewash of Canadian exploitation, which sends racists overseas to reinforce racial stereotypes in Black countries and which contributes marginally to the need for technical skills. The benefits to be derived from educating Canadians to the realities of Canadian exploitation of Third World peoples at home and abroad should not be abandoned. But we need a restructured organisation which is first of all inward looking and will examine the evils of Canadian society. And then we can bring Canadians to the Third World to learn, not to dispense wisdom.

UNITED NATIONS

Cont'd from p. 2

United States, along with Britain and France, chose isolation from the 12 Security Council members who voted for the African draft. The draft called for the "withholding supply of all vehicles and equipment for use of the South African armed forces, ending the supply of spare parts for military equipment, "revoking all licenses and military patents granted to the South African Government or to South African companies for the manufacture of arms and ammunition, naval craft, aircraft or other military vehicles" and "ceasing provision of military training for members of the South African armed forces and all other forms of military cooperation with South Africa . . ."

The Africans were not impressed at all with the explanations of Britain and France, both of whom sought to make a distinction between "strategic arms" for external defense and arms to be used against African fighters. Britain's Frederick A. Warner, however, injected the old cold war hokum about protecting its sea lanes against a presumed threat from Soviet naval craft in the Indian Ocean.

Replying to this British argument, the Africans said Britain was not acting in fear of communists any more than South Africa aimed at communists with the socalled "Anti-Communism" and "Anti-Terrorism" laws. In fact, the Africans said, in the words of Ambassador Akwei, in arming South Africa, the western powers aimed to "buttress and reinforce Western European supremacy and racism in Southern Africa, from the Cape to the Zambesi, from Angola to Mozambique." He went on, saying the arms were "a facet of a grand design, unfolding, step by step, till African freedom is slowly blotted out in what they hope will be a gradual fait accompli in the part of Africa."

The United States apparently went along with these strategic aims of the Western imperialists, but it also had other more immediate reasons for objecting to the Africans' draft resolution:- American business giants – General Motors, Ford Motor, Chrysler, Union Carbide and others – are in business in South Africa furnishing the South African racists with whatever items these companies are selling to the U.S. war machine. The U.S. representative could say truthfully that the U.S.is observing the arms embargo; there is no need to ship what U.S. companies are manufacturing on the spot in South Africa.

Just as Ambassador Akwei had done, Zambia's Ambassador Vernon J. Mwaanga coupled the Africans to black Americans, warning: "Countries which are intimately linked with the white regimes in South Africa are not likely to win high esteem and for those like Britain and the United States, with internal racial tension against their non-white minorities, links with South Africa can serve as an added source of internal racial conflict."

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CHECK POINT

Gary, Indiana

Richard C. Hatcher, Black mayor of Gary Ind. claims that the Nixon administration has put its repression into full swing as shown by the recent shootings of the Black Panthers and the trial of the Chicago 7.

Cairo, Illinois

Leroi Jones, the wide ranging writer and political educator from Newark, urged the people of Cairo to take over the political control of the city as the Blacks comprise ½ of Cairo's residents.

Rhodesia

Reports, on Gewlo College, from a South African team of "education experts" have been submitted to the Ian Smith people in control, with the idea of transfering the institution into an "African only" degree-awarding college. The reports rose from cries to segregate higher education in South African apartheid style.

Lagos

A step twoards uniting Nigerians, of the formerly divided country, was taken when Dr. J. O. Okezie, representing "the East-Central State", was sworn into the Federal Executive Office. This country was recently the scene of a violent civil war.

Algiers

Documents stamped "F.B.I." and another security agency found in the homes of Niel Huff and John Griffin resulted in their expulsion from C.A.R.E.

Johannesburg

Several groups are discussing attacking convoys to be used for carrying arms en route to South Africa if the British government lifts their arms ban, along with demonstrations and "other actions" at the various co-operating firms.

Atlanta

Corretta King was picketed by Blacks who were protesting their dismissal from the staff of the Martin Luther King Memorial Center last week. Mrs King was heckled and called "Black Jackie" when she tried to explain that "no one was fired, they were simply laid off".

New Haven

Last week traitor George Sams took the witness stand to testify for the state against defendant Lonnie McLucas, the first Black Panther to go on trial for the torture-murder of Alex Rackley. In a five hour cross examination, it was revealed that there were numerous contradictions between Sams' earlier statement and his courtroom testimony. Defence lawyer Kaskoff raised the suggestion that there had always been "bad Blood" between George and Bobby Seale.

George admitted in testimony that he had always been known as "Crazy George" and "Madman". Defense suggested that perhaps George committed the murder on his own. Previously, the state had asked that George he exempted from testimony because of his unstable mental condition. State psychiatrists found him a "dull normal" which qualfies him to sit in the witness box.

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Lawrence Kansas (S.O.B.U.)

The board of regents of the University of Kansas has fired a Black administrative assistant here, charging that he used university funds to purchase ammunition.

Gaey Jackson, an assistant to the dean in the field of liberal arts, was dismissed when board members alleged that he and LaVerta Murray, used a check from the Black students' fund to make the purchase at a local gun shop.

Murray is chairman of the Black Students' Union (BSU) at the university.

Although it is reported that the dismissal is temporary, pending investigations, the board's traditional anti-BSU attitude seems to indicate that the decision will probably be upheld.

Two weeks ago, Rick Tiger Dowdell, 19, a prominent member of the BSU, was shot and killed by a Lawrence policeman. A coroner's inquest ruled the murder "justifiable homicide".

Following Dowdell's murder, several days of disturbances took place in the city, resulting in the death of one white student and the wounding of two other Blacks and one police officer.

At a recent press conference, it was reported that during the disturbances city officials had urged citizens to take whatever precautions necessary to defend themselves.

"If this is true for the white community", a BSU spokesman said, o"then it should apply to the Black community also".

California

The cries of "Free Huey", "Free Huey", have been partially answered. Last month California Supreme Court upheld a reversal of his conviction on the grounds that the jury had been improperly instructed.

He was found guilty in 1967 of the shooting death of an Oakland policer man and was sentenced to two to fifteen years in jail.

Huey has been "freed" on $50,000 bail until his new trial, on a lesser charge of voluntary manslaughter, is called. Huey plans to visit Bobby in New Haven, and also the U.N. to speak on behalf of Eldridge Cleaver's return to the U.S.

Just how much "freedom" the U.S. will allow Huey is left to be seen Has the establishment just made a trade with the Panthers? Are they just saying, "We'll give you Huey a while so shut up and don't bother us about Bobby Seale?"

One thing that's sure, Huey has not been freed in the name of Justice and even if that were the case, what about the three years he spent in prison?

By a Sister

Egypt

At a ceremony last month on the 12th, the last power generating turbines of the Aswan High Dam were turned on. The event marked the essential completion of Egypt's greatest engineering feat since the Pharoahs constructed the pyramids. The dam, the construction of which spanned 10 years, is more than 2 miles long, 300 feet high, and nearly 3000 feet thick at the base.

After the United State's abrupt annulment of profered loan, the Soviet Union contributed about $260 million in loan and technical assistance with Egypt putting up twice as much to finance the project. With the dammed-up waters of Lake Nasser giving an additional 1.2 million kilowatts, the Aswan High Dam will be a big factor in Egypts economic growth.

Libya

A plot led by a nephew of the deposed King Idris to over-throw the revolutionary government of Libya has been crushed, according to Libyan authorities.

Col. Quadofi's government announced that the CIA financed a 5000 strong European & African mercenary force was massed in neighbouring Chad ready to invade, if the anti-government coup had succeeded.

Since the army over-throw pro-USA King Idris last year, the Libyan government has taken several actions to return the control of the country and her resources into the hands of the people. These measures include the closing of USA & British Air Force bases and nationalisation of foreign owned oil companies and banks.

South Africa

A group of Black students have broken away from the Union of South African Students to form their own exclusively non-white South African Students Organization.

At the founding convention the newly elected president said the Black students have lost faith in the white students. He emphasized that Blacks participation in the white controlled Student Union has only led to frustration since in racist apartheid South Africa ideals of Blacks and whites are not only different, but are also opposed. Delagates agreed that Black Students involvement in the shaping of the society will be enhanced with the creation of a student organization they control.

In line with Britain's policy to publicly and directly arm racist regimes in Southern Africa, the South African government has announced that the British Navy will join her in naval exercises along the South African coast.

British naval patrol to enforce trade sanctions against Rhodisia will be ended shortly, reports the London Daily Telegraph. The naval patrol off the port of Biera, Rhodesia's link to the sea through Mozambique, was formed in 1966 soon after Thodesia's unilateral declaration of Independance.

While Britain diplomatically tries to fool the rest of the world (except herself) of her great intent to bring to an end the fascist Smith regime with liesurely cruising frigates along the east coast of Africa, Rhodesia obtains all the embargoed commodities including oil through South Africa (mainly) and Mozambique; the suppliers being western white countries some of which were as usual parties to AUN embargo resolution.

Algeria

The Algerian government of Col. Boumedianne has been acting lately with increasing firmness to gain control of to augment her revenues from her natural resources. The latest move is to force two French owned oil companies to increase their tax payment by 50 per cent.

Angela Davis

Angela Yvonne Davis was born in Birmingham, Alabama January, 1944. B. Frank Davis, her father, taught school for nine years before opening a service station in Birmingham in 1945. Her mother, Sally B. Davis, still teaches in the Birmingham school system. Her sister, Fania, 23, is a graduate of Swathmore College and is enrolled in the post-graduate program at Lajolla, California. Her brother, Ben, 24 is a graduate of Defiance College in Ohio, and a defensive back for the Cleveland Browns football team

Sister Angela acquired a Masters degree in philosophy from the University of California in 1968, before becoming a professor at UCLA. Upon discovering that she was member of the Black Panther party, the school board, urged on by Ronald Reagan, refused to rehire her for the following school year. The Supreme Court, struggling to maintain a semblance of democracy, decided that Reagan's action was illegal. A warrant has been issued for her arrest on charges which are based on the belief that she was the owner of not purchaser of the firearms with which the judge was shot earlier this month in San Raphael. The federal warrant issued on August 16th against sister Angela is a renewal of the attempt by the U.S. to eliminate members of the Black Panther Party.

In making Angela a "scapegoat" in the judge Haley incident,the U.S. is desperately trying to divert public attention from the effects of Nixon's new "no ransom" policy, outlined by the president after the U.S. made no attempt to save the life of a captured official in Uraguay.

Jamaica -- AWA -- Possible areas for technical assistance to Jamaican agriculture by Israeli Government specialists have been discussed by Jamaica's Minister of Agriculture and Fisheries, John Gyles, and the newly appointed Israeli Ambassador to Jamaica, Alexander Dothan.

NETBALL ACTION

West Indian netball action returns to Montreal on Saturday 30th August. The St. Vincent Association of Montreal will sponsor a netball exhibition, beginning at 4.45 p.m., at Lower Canada College, 4090 Royal Avenue (near Monkland). Get together with the sisters and get with the action.

BLACK HORIZON

THE PSYCHOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF SLAVERY ON BLACK PEOPLE

One hundred million people were taken from the African continent during the slave trade. Moreover, some of the more physically potent Africans were used in the trade. They were scattered through South America, U.S. and the West Indies and thus it is that Africans represented the backbone of labour, and progress, in the new world.

The system of slavery that evolved was more cruel and complete than any other system of slavery devised by one group of men against another. When they reached America, there were two ways in which the white man kept Blacks enslaved. One was through force. It is repulsive to even mention some of the devious and sinister forms of repression to which the deviant slave was subjected. The second was the process of brainwashing which

left the slave so psychologically deranged that he did not know whether he was coming or going. They lived under the most degrading of human conditions. Families were broken up, the Black male was demasculated and the Black woman was systematically sexually exploited and vilely degranded.

They were taught that they were inferior; and that only through hard work would they eventually rise to the level of the white man. The whip of the slave master lurked over the slave's head as a constant reminder of his situation. The terrifying aspect of all this is that the wound left a deeper scar on the mind than on the skin of the Black man.

The plantation implanted a subservience and dependency, in the psyche of the Black man, that made him dependent on the so called good will and paternalism of the white man. The more agreeable the slave was the more he was rewarded within the plantation culture. Those who bowed and scraped and denied their natural agressive feelings were rewarded by promotion to "house nigger" and "good nigger". It became a virtue during slavery for the Black man to be docile and non-assertive. Uncle Toms are examples of these conditioned virtues. If the Black slaves wanted to keep their "notable position", they quickly learned to say "Yassah massah". Therefore, passivity for the Blacks became necessary for survival, both during, and after slavery. The slaves were reminded constantly that they were castrated humans. In their daily lives, they were called "girl" and "boy" inspite of the fact that they were capable of managing a household with efficiency and physical endurance.

The passivity to which the slave had been conditioned, led the blacks to bear the psychological burden of suppressing and repressing their rage and agression. (Non-assertiveness was a learnt adaptation to insure survival). Those who were outspoken were punished out of proportion.

In dealing with this accumulating rage, they suppress it and substitute an appeasing emotional outlook - compliance, docility or a loving attitude or sometimes this rage can be denied completely and replaced by a happy go-lucky and flippant attitude. Another means of chanelling this rage is to identify with the oppressor and put all his energy into striving to be like him. They may even project their own self-hatred onto other Blacks and often the anxiety, fear and tension caused by suppressed emotion will be expressed in psychosomatic symptoms. Rage may be directed inward in such deviations as alcoholism, drug addiction and excessive gambling.

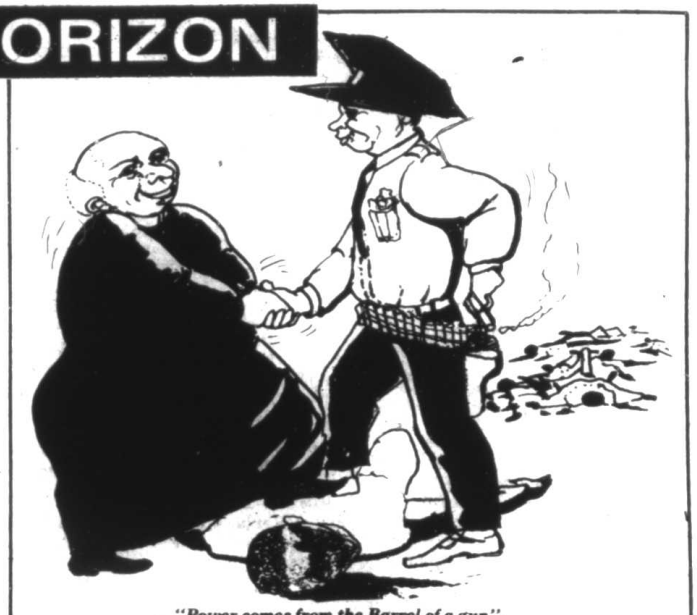
Various religious worship in the Black community has also fostered passivity in Blacks and encouraged them to look to after life for salvation and happiness. They would be taught that they should love their oppressor and it was sinful to hate or show anger.

It is significant that the civil rights movement had to adopt passive resistance and non-violence in order to win the acceptance of white America.

The behavior of young blacks today implies their recognition that racial pride and self-love alone do not fill the stomachs of starving Black children. Nor does being proud of one's African heritage alone bring jobs, decent housing or quality education.

But now the old passivity and rage is fading. It is being replaced by an urge to undo centuries of powerlessness, helplessness and dependency under white racism. We, Black people, can obtain dignity only through continued assertive social, and political, action against racism until all our demands are met. For the Black man to survive, forces controlled by the whites, must be challenged by whatever means necessary.

Hannah Osborne



"Power comes from the Barrel of a gun".

LIBERTY OR DEATH

by Malika

Two weeks ago at a police conference in Montreal, policemen from across the continent declared that they were ready to administer "instant justice" to "lawbreakers". (see editorial) In Sam Raphael, California, one week ago, three brothers said to white America what one of the heroes of the American Revolution once said, "Give me liberty or give me death"; and in so doing they launched an attempt to administer "instant justice" in the courtroom - the home of justice.

There is much to be learned from what took place in San Raphael last week. Nixon's "silent majority" (robots) learned, or they should have learned, that their existence is of little or no importance especially when they stand between the establishment and the genocide of their "niggers".

To ensure the deaths of three "niggers", the establishment risked the life of a judge. Understand that a judge is no ordinary man in the system . . . he is one of the main pillars of society, even if he is only a small town judge. If they didn't care about him, could you imagine what they would think of the Hard hats who parade up and down Fifth Avenue shouting "America! America!" And the two jurors who were also held as hostages? A new panel can be formed as easily as the first one.

An interesting algebraic equation can be made here: 3 niggers + 1 judge - 3 niggers + 3 robots; from this we can conclude that the score was close to even. The truth of Mao Tse Tung's words also came to light "Power lies in the barrel of a gun". What happened to the power of the almighty white judge when confronted with a gun? It disappeared; it disappeared because he was unarmed.

It is apparent too that the scores can be made even if the soldiers on both sides were equally armed. Soldiers? Yes soldiers, for the undeclared war is about to begin. The days for unjust suffering will come to an end when all concerned decide that it is going to be tit for tat; "instant justice" for "instant justice"; liberty or death for me and for you too Mr. Establishment! These brothers, as many before them, did not acheve liberty, instead they took death, but their lives will not have been lost totally in vain if we, of the Third World, especially in North America, can draw the right conclusions from the San Raphael shoot out.

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THE DIONNE WARWICK SHOW

The Constellations, a fantastic male vocal group who have unlimited possibilities, opened up the show. After they had sung a half-dozen numbers, Dionne appeared. It was interesting to note that approximately ten thousand people came out to Man and His World's Place Des Nations to see the show, all of those people were captivated by Dionne. As the show progressed, virtually every song she sung brought sighs and deepbreathing from the audience.

Near the end of the show she brought back the Constellations for as she put it "a little personal 'grooving' with my brothers and sisters". When they started "grooving" I was deeply disappointed because I had expected to hear Dionne sing something about our mutual problems. Instead, she opened with "What the World Needs Now Is Love" and "This Girl's In Love With You" and finished with "Paper Maché", a song which concerns itself with spraying the world with perfume.

A powerful personality such as Dionne Warwick, a person who has so much talent, is forced to sing the songs she does because we don't demand otherwise. When she does sing songs such as "Slaves", a song which does concern us, we don't support her. We don't support her or any other artist who tries to reach us with a real message - a message which would benefit us all.

Staff Reporter

WHITE UNITED CHURCH DIVIDES BLACK COMMUNITY IN TORONTO

In the news lately, we have seen the constructing of a new "West Indian" centre in Toronto. The building which housed the old WIF club will be remodeled and converted into a centre.

At a time like this, when Black communities are endeavouring to break out of these "West Indian", "American" and "Canadian" bags, why a new "West Indian Centre?"

Further investigation revealed that this new centre was being set up by the United Church of Canada to cater to the "Cultural" needs of the West Indian community in Toronto.

And who will be involved in it? The white news media has given prominence to a certain Father Baldeo, educated in Canada, and who has just resigned as head of Trinidad's largest Presbyterian Church to come to Canada to "bridge the gap between Black and white."

Father Baldeo will be involved in the centre, and says that the proposed program (proposed by who?) will go a long way towards improving relations between Blacks and whites in the community, and that his "mission of love" will help to "restore" Trinidad's image abroad. So we see here, a proposed program for improving relations between Black and white at the cost of dividing the community into "West Indian" etc.

We have here an example of this in Montreal. The Negro Community Centre which was formed in the basement of the same United Church on Delisle St. by Black people several years ago is now no longer controlled by Black people. The U.N.I.A. Hall, however is still owned by Blacks, but at that time, years ago, the Black community was divided under the influence of the white United Church.

This is one of the same churches which is alleged to have given money to a certain national Black organization to "help" the Black community.

If, the kind of help which the United Church has in its mind, is one which divides the Black community into ethnic lines, then anyone, be they national organization or individual (priest or otherwise), who collaborates in this divisive scheme must not be allowed to use Black people in this way.

What has happened in Montreal to the "Negro" Community Centre must not happen in Toronto.

Gordon S.

OBITUARY

Uhuru regrets to report the death of Mr. Stanley Clyke at the Reddy Memorial Hospital three weeks ago. Mr. Clyke was an active member of the Black Community of Montreal for most of his life and was well known to the parents as well as the children of our area. He took part in many functions which attempted to help Black residents here. Included in these were his directorship of the Negro Community Center and his membership in education. Uhuru sends their sympathy to Mrs. Clyke and is sure the community will miss Mr. Clyke greatly.

LATIN AMERICAN REVOLUTIONARIES AND THE MITRIONE INCIDENT

A week ago Daniel Mitrione, U.S. advisor to the Uruguayan Government, died at the hands of revolutionary agents in Uruguay. Over all the news media his death was trumpeted as the unjustified murder of an innocent victim. As it is not our habit to accept uncritically the views of the media, we ask the question who are the real victims in this case?

What was Daniel Mitrione doing in Uruguay? He was one of a number of 'police advisors' whom the U.S. government have scattered all through Latin America, Africa and South East Asia, ostensibly to advise in the reorganization of police forces. Most of these men are retired U.S. policemen and many are recruited from the Southern States, where they mastered the art of brutalising black people. The only training these men are qualified to give is training in brutality and repression, in depriving man of his rights and human dignity. Typical is the case of the U.S. police advisor to the Saigon government, a southern racist cracker. When newsmen asked him if he knew of the existence of the notorious 'tiger cages' where prisoners were tortured and starved in holes in the ground, he replied that of course he did and it was none of the newsmen's business.

Let us understand the situation in Latin America. As in the Caribbean, we have large masses of dispossessed persons, landless, hungry, unemployed and without rights. Land and natural resources are entirely in the hands of the top ten percent of the population, the large plantation owners, the *hacendados*, and the foreign capitalists. By far the greatest portion of foreign investment is American, in Venezuelan oilfields, in Bolivian tin mines, in automobile plants in Brazil, in Chilean phosphates, etc. As in the Caribbean, U.S. policy is directed towards protecting this investment.

How does the U.S. government protect its capitalists overseas? It provides guns and tanks for Latin American armies, planes for their air forces, ships for their navies, West Point training for their officers, a 'counter-insurgency' school to teach them how to fight guerillas - and it provides them with men like Mitrione to organise the state police machine. The urban and rural masses are kept in check by this unholy alliance of local landowners, the local military and U.S. cash and war material.

It has long been realized that the alliance must be toppled if there is to be meaningful change in Latin America. The U.S., the military and the *hacendados* are equally determined that the status quo be maintained at all costs even if it means the murder of Bolivian miners, the shooting of students in the streets of Rio, or the brutalising of railway workers in Argentina. And so, as in the Caribbean, people become intolerant of the oppressor. The *Tupamaros* of Uraguay and the revolutionary forces of Latin America are not dedicated to violence, they are dedicated to freeing people *by any means necessary*. They are not the initiators of violence. In the streets of every major city of Latin America, they have been the victims of violence. Mitrione might himself have been a peaceful man led astray - it is improbable but possible - but he was in the service of men who rule by the sword. How then can we be surprised when he dies by the sword?

The case seems clear. The increasing levels of frustration which are evident throughout the Caribbean and Latin America are forcing some people to overcome their hesitation to force of arms. In all our societies there is a reluctance to settle arguments by reaching for a gun. We would much prefer that the problems of grinding poverty, massive unemployment, unstoppable inflation, corruption at all levels, powerlessness be solved by peaceful cooperation. But how one cooperates with the selfish and violent beast who holds you by the throat no-one has yet suggested.

We should hope that Mitrione will not have died in vain, that his death will open men's eyes to the nature of their oppression, that his death will strengthen the determination of right-thinking men to remove that oppression finally and totally, and that we will be spared the deaths of many unsung and unmourned mineworkers, peasants, squatters and labourers whose constant murder never excites a ripple of comment in those same areas where Mitrione's death is mourned as a national disaster.

ANOTHER BUSINESS VENTURE

Messrs. Winston Roberts and Arnold Hoore have decided to provide the community with another business venture. This is to take the form of a restaurant patterned after "The Underground Railway" in Toronto. "The Runaway Slave" as it will be called, is expected to open sometime near the end of August or beginning of September and is situated at 2140 Bishop Street (between Sherbrooke and de Maisonneuve). People can expect to get an ordinary meal for $1.25 and the courses, which span the spectrum of Caribbean and Black American tastes, can be gotten at the limit of about $3.00. Piped in music will be a relaxing attraction and, should the response be good enough, it is expected that a cocktail lounge will be added and dancing become an attraction. Uhuru congratulates the proprietors and wishes them every success.

TRAGEDY -

Cont'd from p.3

The facts speak for themselves. We thought we were having a programme designed to cater to the needs of the black community. Instead we had a typical white program which failed to reach the level of a black program due to the misdirection of those in charge. If at this point, any blame has to be laid, we must accept our share of it in allowing the program to take the direction it took, in allowing only 40 or 50 to receive the benefit of the program out of a total of about 90 students, in allowing McGill and the other schools to deal with a group people who did not represent the initial purpose of the program.

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